

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03894 01 OF 02 210838Z

ACTION EA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7835

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TAIPEI 03894

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS : PINT, TW

SUBJECT : INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS

SUMMARY. RECENT PUBLICATION DIFFICULTIES OF INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS ILLUSTRATE THEIR CONTINUING LACK OF UNITY AND THE GROC'S EFFORTS TO FORESTALL THEIR ACQUIRING GREATER PUBLIC SUPPORT. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING THE GROC'S DECISION TO CLOSE DOWN THE TAIWAN POLITICAL REVIEW (TAIWAN CH'ENG LUN) IN DECEMBER 1975, INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS SUCH AS KANG NING-HSIANG, CHANG CH'UN-HUNG AND YAO CHIA-WEN, GRADUALLY REGROUPED AND, IN COOPERATION WITH A MAINLANDER PUBLISHER NAMED CH'EN LI-YANG, STARTED A NEW MAGAZINE CALLED "NEW GENERATION" (CHE I TAI). FOR MANY MONTHS, "NEW GENERATION" WAS A MOUTHPIECE OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS WHOSE ULTIMATE GOAL IS A MORE DEMOCRATIC TAIWAN SEPARATE FROM THE MAINLAND. HOWEVER, IN RECENT

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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03894 01 OF 02 210838Z

MONTHS, THERE HAVE BEEN RUMORS THAT "NEW GENERATION" EDITOR CHANG CH'UN-HUNG AND OTHER INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS WERE INCREASINGLY UNHAPPY WITH PUBLISHER CH'EN LI-YANG, WHO WAS TRYING TO MAKE THE MAGAZINE LESS CONTROVERSIAL, SOME SAID AS A RESULT OF HIS RUMORED ASSOCIATION WITH GENERAL POLITICAL WARFARE DEPARTMENT CHIEF GENERAL WANG SHENG. THE APRIL 1978 EDITION OF CHE I TAI WAS THE LAST

EDITION TO APPEAR, REPORTEDLY BECAUSE THE WELL-KNOWN INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS WHOSE ARTICLES SOLD THE MAGAZINE WERE REFUSING TO WRITE FOR IT. TO GET AROUND THE OBSTACLE POSED BY PUBLISHER CH'EN, CHANG CH'UN-HUNG PUBLISHED A NEW MAGAZINE IN MAY CALLED "HSIN SHENG TAI" (NEW BORN GENERATION). HOWEVER, THIS PUBLICATION CAME OUT IN MAGAZINE FORM WITHOUT A LICENSE AND AS SUCH WAS CONFISCATED BY THE AUTHORITIES. (NO NEW MAGAZINE LICENSES ARE BEING ISSUED FOR A YEAR -- SEE TAIPEI 01837.)

2. MEANWHILE, ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO BROADEN THE PUBLIC EXPOSURE OF INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS WAS RUNNING INTO DIFFICULTY. THE AGRICULTURAL MAGAZINE "FU PAO CHIH SHENG," WHOSE PUBLISHER HAD TURNED TO PRINTING ARTICLES BY PROMINENT INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS, HAD ITS LICENSE SUSPENDED FOR A YEAR FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION OF ITS FIRST EDITION IN MAY. INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS THEN PROCEEDED TO USE THE SAME PUBLISHER AND PRINT A MAGAZINE-LIKE BOOK WHICH, WHILE HAVING THE SAME FORMAT AND LAYOUT AS FU PAO CHI SHENG, LACKED THE DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS OF A MAGAZINE SUCH AS ISSUE NUMBERS, SUBSCRIPTIONS, AND A CONTINUING TITLE. THIS BOOK/MAGAZINE HAS BEEN ON THE STAND FOR ALMOST TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE REMAINING COPIES OF A 5,000 PRINTING WERE CONFISCATED.

3. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT THE PUBLISHER OF FU PAO  
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PAGE 03 TAIPEI 03894 01 OF 02 210838Z

CHI SHENG HAS ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE EFFECTIVELY USED BY A SPLINTER GROUP OF NON-PARTY POLITICIANS ASSOCIATED WITH THE "LEFTIST" MAGAZINE "HSIA CH'AO." HSIA CH'AO HAS LONG ADVOCATED A ONE CHINA POLICY AND HENCE HAS NOT BEEN TROUBLED BY THE GOVERNMENT DESPITE ITS LEFTIST-SOUNDING CRITIQUES OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM. RECENT EDITIONS OF HSIA CH'AO HAVE PRINTED INTERVIEWS WITH AND ARTICLES BY A FEW PROMINENT INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS WHO BELONG TO THE MAJOR NON-PARTY GROUP WHICH TENDS TO THINK IN TERMS OF AN INDEPENDENT TAIWAN. SUCH ARTICLES HAVE REPORTEDLY BOOSTED HSIA CH'AO CIRCULATION FROM 3,000 TO 9,000 PER MONTH. WHEN THE PUBLISHER OF THE BOOK/MAGAZINE, WHICH SUCCEEDED FU PAO CHI SHENG WAS HAVING TROUBLE GETTING BUSY INDEPENDENTS TO HELP EDIT, HSIA CH'AO EDITORS REPORTEDLY MOVED IN AND VIRTUALLY TOOK OVER THE PUBLICATION. MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS, IT APPEARS, WERE TOO BUSY TO NOTICE AND WERE PRESENTED WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI WHICH WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE PUBLICATION OF AN ARTICLE CRITICAL OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH'S STAND ON INDEPENDENCE -- A STAND WHICH IS GENERALLY SUPPORTED BY MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS -- HAD NOT THE

INCLUSION OF THIS ARTICLE BEEN DISCOVERED AND THE PUBLISHER CONVINCED TO WITHDRAW IT (THE TITLE OF THE ARTICLE APPEARS IN THE TABLE OF CONTENTS, BUT THE ARTICLE ITSELF IS MISSING FROM THE BOOK/MAGAZINE).

4. MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS NOW PLAN TO PUBLISH ANOTHER BOOK/MAGAZINE WHICH WILL BE FIRMLY UNDER THEIR CONTROL. THEY CLAIM THEY NEED NT DOLS 300,000 TO PUBLISH A RUN OF 5,000 COPIES; THAT THEY HAVE 100,000 ALREADY IN HAND; AND THAT THE BALANCE WILL BE EASY TO RAISE. THEY EXPECT THAT SUCH A PUBLICATION

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PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03894 02 OF 02 210841Z

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 TAIPEI 03894

WILL EASILY RECAPTURE THE INTEREST OF READERS WHO MAY HAVE BEEN PUZZLED BY THE RECENT CHANGES IN NAMES AND FORMAT SINCE THEY FEEL THAT READERS BUY A MAGAZINE BECAUSE OF WHO WRITES IN

IT AND HAVE NO LOYALTY TO THE TITLE OF THE PUBLICATION.

THE MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS REMAIN CONFIDENT THAT THEY REFLECT THE BROAD INTERESTS OF THE TAIWANESE PEOPLE.

5. COMMENT: THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH HSIA CH'AO IS NOT VERY IMPORTANT AND SHOULD NOT BE OVERDRAWN. THE SMALL GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS (SUCH AS CH'EN KU-YING) WHO ARE ASSOCIATED WITH HSIA CH'AO APPEAR TO HAVE VERY LITTLE PUBLIC FOLLOWING OR INFLUENCE AND SEEM TO BE USED BY THE GROC AS A KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL COUNTER WEIGHT TO THE MORE POPULAR MAINSTREAM INDEPENDENT POLITICIANS SUCH AS KANG NING-HSIANG, CHANG CH'UN-HUNG, HSU HSIN-

LIANG, ETC. THOSE POLITICIANS CONTINUE TO IMPRESS US  
AS MUCH MORE POPULAR AND REFLECTIVE OF THE GENERAL,  
IF LATENT SENTIMENT AMONG THE VAST MAJORITY OF TAIWANESE  
THAT TAIWAN SHOULD SOME HOW, SOME WAY, AND SOME TIME,  
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PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03894 02 OF 02 210841Z

DEVELOP INTO A SEPARATE COUNTRY. UNGER

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## Message Attributes

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ILLUSTRATE THEIR CONTINUING LACK OF UN  
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